THE CONSTRUCTION OF SUNDANESE CULTURE IN THE NEWS DISCOURSE PUBLISHED BY LOCAL MASS MEDIA OF WEST JAVA

Dadang S. Anshori

Studies of Indonesian Language and Literature, Faculty Language and Literature of Education,
Indonesia University of Education
Jln. Dr. Setiabudhi 229 Bandung 40154, Indonesia
dadanganshori@upi.edu

How to Cite: Anshori, D. S. (2018). The construction of Sundanese culture in the news discourse published by local mass media of West Java. *Lingua Cultura, 12*(1), 31-38. https://doi.org/10.21512/lc.v12i1.3370

ABSTRACT

This research identified the construction of Sundanese culture in the local mass media of West Java. Based on the phenomenon occurred, the culture could be interpreted in an accordance with the spirit of time and society. Within the national framework, this issue was not simple because the nationalism that was built on the plots of localism was not impossible to be changed. The research method employed the qualitative method. The data were the form of discourses contained in the local mass media. The results show that the language that is being used by the local media that describes the meaning of low bargaining of political position and national leadership. The construction of the local media in depicting the Sundanese culture is classified as the national, cultural, Islamic, and other aspects of culture. In the context of national leadership, the construction strengthens and affirms the faced condition and the reality. In terms of cultural relations with Islam, the local media shows the positive aspects of the condition and the history of the Sundanese people that has been known as a religious ethnic group. In terms of the cultural relations with other aspects, the people of West Java are advised to make an inward reflection in viewing the existence of Sundanese culture within the national context. The ideologies that established by the local media towards the Sundanese culture are idealism, primordial, and pragmatism-realistic.

Keywords: construction culture, Sundanese culture, news discourse

INTRODUCTION

The cultural issues have recently become an interesting and important phenomenon in Indonesia. It is not because Indonesia is a multicultural country, but because the culture has shown potentials for urgent problems in a multicultural society. The cultural issues are characterized by three main characteristics. The first characteristic is the emergence of a global acculturation movement that nullifies the importance of local identity in the international arena. The issue can be seen among the young generation who view the global culture (modernization) as a mainstream. In another word, there has been the colonialism through the culture as an active instrument of colonialism that has happened massively. This is evident from various changes in the sense of nationalism that continues to be eroded in both substantive and symbolic forms. For example, the increasing use of foreign languages in the public spaces as if the country is not inhabited and not devoted to the Indonesian people who speak Bahasa and local languages. This concern is revealed along with the emergence of a small wave of recognition from various countries, both individuals, and institutions. It is about the existence and presence of local Indonesian culture, as evidenced by the increasing number

of foreigners who study the local and Indonesian culture. Although on the other hand, some Indonesian people seem to become alienated to their culture.

The second characteristic is the cultural issues at the local level are related to the cultural reflections and manifestations that are sometimes can be seen to the contrary to the issue of nationalism (Rozi, 2009). There is a long debate about the existence of regional languages in the middle of the Indonesian civilization movement. Along with the strengthening of post-reformation local forces, the local culture has gained momentum to rise and play a role in local-scale development in several regions. On the other hand, the cultural reflections are sometimes considered as exaggerated and confronting the religious beliefs.

This phenomenon is enough to seize the attention of many parties, especially with the various local government policies, which are the preservation of the local culture, present behavior and cultural manifestations that are seen not in line with the issues of nationalism and religion (Saidi, 2009). In case of a small city in the US, Oliver and Myers (1999) have described that of 382 public events in police records for one year in a small U.S. city, 45% conveys a message, 14% involves social conflict, and 13% are the standard protest event forms. The local newspapers cover

32% of all events, favoring the large events, events that involve conflict, events that are sponsored by the business groups and occurred in central locations.

In fact, the Sundanese culture has long been recognized as having synchronization and harmony with the religious values. Even in the social fragmentations, this interpretation frequently leads to the social problems and conflicts among some parties, including the government, community groups, and religious organizations (Ibrahim, 2008). The efforts from the Ministry of Home Affairs to eliminate thousands of local regulations that are contrary to the higher regulations, including the exclusive regional regulations, have also received a strong response from the various parties, especially from the regions that formulated the law (Anshori, 2014).

Many understandings expect nationalism and localism to coexist and reinforce each other, but their social fragmentation competes. However, it is realized that Indonesian nationality is built on the foundation of regionalism, but there are still concerns of diminishing from the regional aspect of ethnic society due to the overwhelming dominance of the national cultural roles as happened in the New Order era. This concern is decline by the local language speakers in Indonesia and the switch of the speakers to using the Indonesian language.

The third phenomenon is the concern and anxiety about the disproportionate or unrepresentative national accommodation of ethnicity and regional politics in the national scale. In every procession of national leader election, regional aspects are emerged and strengthened politically, especially from the areas with large numbers of voters, such as the provinces of Java. This phenomenon arises in various forms of the question, whether there is the presentation of ethnicity in national leadership. In West Java, for example, the discourse on the leadership of Ki Sunda (Sundanese) is widely presented in the mass media of West Java, especially *Pikiran Rakyat* and other local media. Almost all the issues, news, and opinions lead to the representation of representatives from the Sundanese people in the context of national leadership, which until now has not been represented in terms of quantity. While there is a political issue, in this context the culture and ethnicity have been construing as legitimacy for the political life of the people, and it will be the existence of an ethnic group which can transform its culture.

In some cases, there is even an attitude of disappointment and concern for the absence of representatives of the particular ethnicity. This will have implications for the strengthening and the weakening of the locality movement in the national politics. In the context of politics, the history of Indonesia government concerns role and representation from the Indonesian regions, especially the large ethnics and ethnic groups outside Java. Even the nomination for the President and Vice President always considers the candidates who represent Java and Outer Java. This consideration does not fully address the candidate capacity, but rather consider the national and local political issues as well as closeness and integrity of national politics.

As a part of national culture, Sundanese culture is the second largest after the Javanese (Smith, 1986) that has its own characteristic, and it can contribute to the development of national culture. Sundanese culture is based on the philosophical life of the Sundanese ethnic group (Indrawardana, 2012). One of the philosophies that is often used as the foundation of regional development is the *silih asih, silih asah, silih asuh*. This philosophy means that the Sundanese people always make harmony, mutual love, and mutual care with other human beings. However, the model of fragmentation that shown may be different and will be largely determined by the Sundanese interpretation. Especially, the Sundanese figures who have the hegemony of thought and movement in directing the interpretation. Some parts of the Sundanese philosophy have been widely criticized by the Sundanese figures who view them as a loss and not contextual in the national politics (Safei, 2010; Sumpena, 2012).

A custom of Sundanese people to let others walk in front (*mangga ti payun*), is a form of defeatism that is no longer relevant in the context of national leadership. This principle is replaced with the principle of leading the walk (*abdi ti payun or punten mayunan*). In the context of national politics, for example, the disappointment is fragmented from the Sundanese political figures that have national interests and ideas, whereas, in grassroots, the disappointment may not be manifested in the language within the public sphere.

Understanding the construction of culture is necessary to consider the relationship between various components of the nation, especially for those which are based on ethnicity. However, the leadership in Indonesia should have the support of local elites who have the influence over the more concrete and realistic masses. Usually, the dynamics that develop nationally are also influenced by local development, especially areas adjacent to the sources of power. Thus, the Indonesian leadership cannot be separated from the conditions and dynamics that occur in local communities (ethnicity).

To explore the construction of the Sundanese culture, issues, and opinions that develop within the cultural conditions should be studied, as understood by the Sundanese people through various media. The records of issues and opinions are expressed in the local media publications with interest in covering the dynamics of the Sundanese people. In this case, *Pikiran Rakyat* and other media, published in both Indonesian and Sundanese language, have become an integral part of the issue and thought of the Sundanese, because they are presenting in the middle of the Sundanese people (Sitompul and Dirgahayu, 2014). The media also play an important role, not only to record the thoughts and dynamics that exist but at the same time also direct the opinion that developed in the Sundanese people. Thus, in the context of plurality, it is important to examine the construction of Sundanese culture as reflected by the people that are recorded in the local mass media, in this case, *Pikiran Rakyat* and other media.

This study is based on the theory of language that is no longer solely discussing the language from the internal structure, but also the cross-dimension with other sciences or fields that make the language as a communication channel. The mediation role of the language appears to translate various events and facts that occur in various disciplines, including the construction and fragmentation of culture. The language, in this position, is the science advocate. The significance of this fact to the science of language is that the language becomes a window for examining the social reality or events that occur. The use of language enables people to interpret the various social realities or events since in this position language is a representation of the reality of event (Anshori, 2017).

Social class issues, for example, can be studied through sociolinguistics, as social classes are represented in the language variations. The community speaker always shows differences between its high, middle, and

low classes. In America (Bonvillain, 2003), social class is seen from the structure of the economy, politics, and social relations. In Indonesia, social class is also characterized by the income (economy), social status, education, and lineage. Therefore, according to Milroy and Milroy (Bonvillain, 2003), social class is designed to see the range of social, political, and economic scales which built the relationships in interpersonal communication or social organization. The social class is represented in the communication, and social networks and language is an instrument to show the social class of a speaker.

In the communication practice, the speakers always represent their ethnic, culture, and nation. This fact is an important part of language study since Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and Benjamin Whorf (1897-1941), the pioneer of a linguistic branch that includes culture as a study dimension; the anthropological linguistics. Sapir's much-quoted statement is, "The complete vocabulary of a language may indeed be looked upon as a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests, and occupations that take up the attention of the community" (Bonvillain, 2003). Thus, the language does not stand alone but presents an idea, interest, and skills in accordance with the communication interests of its speakers.

In its development, anthropological linguistics has become a study that specifically observes practices of language in the ethnic community and the ethnography of communication. The importance of culture in language studies is based on the postulates that language will not be meaningless without the presence of the culture. The language context often refers to the conditions or circumstances of speaker's culture. The Bahasa uses to represent the Indonesian culture (in a broad sense). In other words, culture becomes the spirit of the language.

Language study with identity is a part of investigative sociolinguistic. This study discusses how are social reality illustrated in the language and its distances with social reality, both in spoken and written forms. Discourse analysis can put forward how the identity construction is built. Georgakapoulou (2006) and Schiffrin (2006) show that conversation and narrative can trace the construction of speaker's identity. In Sundanese society, the ethnic identity is constructed with the relations between Islam and Sundanese, which distinguish Sundanese from the other ethnic groups, especially the Javanese who, in their historic Javanese kingdom, once defeated the Sundanese kingdom (Syukur, 2011). The relationship is built between the Sundanese and Islam is dialectical totality, which means that the Sundanese and Islamic identities have interdependence (Saefullah, 2013).

In the context of cultural discourse, it is not impossible that the discourse or sciences that use discourse as an analytical instrument are more common in other fields than in the language studies (Syamsudin, 2011). Heracleous (2006) has written, "The discourse analysis, in the board sense of utilizing textual data to gain an insight to particular phenomena, as has a rich and varied heritage in the social sciences, spanning the fields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, political sciences, and history." Therefore, the experts view discourse analysis as a cross-disciplinary science, since the discourse analyst must have mastery of many disciplines according to the type of text analyzed.

In discourse, the ideological factors become the center of analysts' attention. The idea of power is often called ideology. In the view of Hodge and Kress (1993), ideology is a presentation of the fact that is organized systematically.

The most familiar example is news about the demonstration or Palestinian war in the mass media. All words that are presented in the news are the chosen words that represent facts that are captured by the journalists. The words chosen are affecting the readers who buy the newspaper. The words presented in the media influence the readers to side with demonstrators or police. These words of the journalists may drive Indonesian readers, in general, to hate Israel. It is even possible that the readers are brought into the scenarios based on the journalists' point of view and comprehension. In turn, people are invited to explore minds, styles, and perspectives of the journalists, not the facts that should be understood by the readers.

Another important thing in the study of discourse is the existence of framing construction in the news (Eriyanto, 2002). It is through this framework that the analysts can know the constructs of the speakers and political ideologies stored in the discourse (Hamad, 2004). This can also happen to the cultural news in local media. The cultural construction and ideologies-politics are important to provide a picture of relationships that can be built within the national context. The culture news frame can provide the descriptions of cultural construction in the media.

METHODS

This research uses the qualitative method based on the framing theory (Eriyanto, 2002) with an emphasis on the diction/phrase (how the author chooses a language), theme (how the author writes events), and category (how the author understands the events). The qualitative research is common in the social science that fundamentally depends on human observation within his own area and relates to the people in their language and terminology (Kirk and Miller in Moleong, 2002).

The qualitative research is seen to be able to describe an object of research more complete and more comprehensive. This analysis emphasizes on how the culture is reconstructed by local media. The data analysis is conducted on the language aspects and content of discourse is used by the media. The research data are processed by the documentation technique. The data processing is administered through the stage of collection, codification, categorization, analysis, and inference. The validation of analytical instruments is conducted by the interviews with experts in the field of discourse and media. The data of this research are qualitative data; there is language published in local media of West Java, which are, *Pikiran Rakyat* and *Mangle*. The data are chosen for the consideration that the mass media reflects thoughts, opinions, and dynamics that occur in the society.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

This research uses news and opinions that are written by the individual or institution in *Pikiran Rakyat* and *Mangle*. In general, the data are printed by the publisher. There are currently only a few institutions that have local media news. The limitations of printed media are complemented by the presence of online media that is relatively easier to be found.

The data is generally written in Indonesian; although there are some articles that are written in the Sundanese used as data. Although, the news topics can be the same from the various media, but the news focus can be different.

Based on the data, several issues developed around the Sundanese culture that can be classified in accordance with the news titles. In general, these issues include the local politics, national politics, cultural regeneration, regional development, regional environment, cultural relations, culture future, and Islam.

The first issue is the language used by local media in describing the construction of Sundanese culture. To describe the position of the Sundanese people in national leadership, *Pikiran Rakyat* (2016) uses various words, both self-produced and sourced from the news sources. Their words can be understood in terms of the vocabulary, phrase, term, or sentence. Vocabulary can give an insight of how the discourse is developed, and the key ideas contain in the news. For example, they use *kohesivitas kultural* (cultural cohesiveness), *integrasi kultural* (cultural integration), *kearifan yang tak tertulis* (unwritten wisdom), and *modal sejarah* (historic capital). These three phrases illustrate unrest, reality, and potential of the Sundanese people.

The phrase *kohesivitas kultural* (cultural cohesiveness) is a keyword that describes criticism of President Joko Widodo since the determination of the cabinet ministers is based solely on the constellations of political parties and mere international perceptions. He does not consider the cultural and ethnic aspects. Some of the Sundanese figures, as the second largest ethnic group, are not accommodated in the current national leadership. Meanwhile, *kearifan yang tak tertulis* (unwritten wisdom) is a phrase that illustrates the national leadership and ethnic as issues in political agreements. This wisdom is very dependent on the orientation of the President. In some cases, state disintegration occurs because of the lack of cultural integration orientation. However, the importance of this element depends on how the President has a national leadership perspective. In a cultural context, the Sundanese people have a historical model, as the second largest ethnic in the Indonesian population, total 40 million. The historical capital in question is the history of the glory of Sundanese leaders, such as Otto Iskandar Di Nata and Djuanda who represented the Sundanese people in the national leadership arena. Currently, the Sundanese people are not respected politically, whereas the culturally and ethnically its existence is very clear.

On the other hand, *Pikiran Rakyat* (2016) uses the words *representasi* (representation), *introspeksi* (introspection), *memperjuangkan* (to defend), *konstelasi politik* (political constellation), *bangkit* (to rise), and *geopolitik* (geopolitics) to depict the factual condition of the Sundanese in the national political arena. These words illustrate the disappointment of some prominent that the Sundanese figures against the composition of the ministers after the reshuffle, because there are two ministers that are seen as the Sundanese representatives, namely Yuddy Crisnandi (Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform) and Ferry Mursidan Baldan (Minister of Agrarian and Spatial Planning), are removed from their posts. These disappointing figures conclude that the Sundanese is no longer noticed by President Joko Widodo because, in the presidential election, Joko Widodo is lost in West Java Province. The words also reflect the efforts that the Sundanese people must defend their position in the political contests and national leadership.

On the August edition, *Pikiran Rakyat* (2016) uses the words *tokoh politik* (political figures), *politik nasional* (national politics), *posisi tawar* (bargaining position), *dominan* (dominant), *inventarisasi* (inventory),

and *termarginalkan* (being marginalized). These words describe the condition of Sundanese political figures on the national political stage. It is depicted by the words *posisi tawar* (bargaining position), *dominan* (dominant), and *termarginalkan* (being marginalized). These words illustrate Sundanese political conditions that have no bargaining power nationally. A large number of voters do not become a consideration for Jakarta's political elites to place the Sundanese figures on the national political stage. On the other hand, the Sundanese who are in Jakarta and joined the gig cannot be claimed as the representations of Sundanese ethnic because of their lack of interaction with the Sundanese people in West Java. These words explain how the political position of the Sundanese people in the national political arena. The word *termarginalkan* (marginalized) is the keyword that represents the current political condition of the Sundanese.

Regarding the news about Sundanese language, there are two core words; *regenerasi* (regeneration) and *punah* (extinct) language. These words describe the condition of the Sundanese language as their identity, which is threatened to be extinct due to the regeneration process is not going well. The stuck of the regeneration process is indicated by the data presented by Balai Bahasa about the Sundanese families that do not make Sundanese language as their mother tongue. In this regard, the Sundanese people experience the crisis internally because the language that should be their ethnic identity also facing a serious problem. It needs a movement to awaken them to use it as their social language in daily life on a regenerative basis so that the younger generation can recognize and proud of their ethnic identity.

Similarly, in the news about leadership, there are five core words; *regenerasi* (regeneration), *revitalisasi* (revitalization), *niscaya* (undoubtedly), *sistematis* (systematic), and *kearifan* (wisdom). These five words show that there has been no regeneration in the national leadership by the Sundanese people. While as a process, the regeneration must be done systematically. The systematic regeneration requires the wisdom of the elder generation to realize that the continuity of ethnic identities should take place in the right scenario. The regeneration must be understood as a necessary undertaking since the generation always changes time to time. In the context of this news, regeneration is viewed as a weakness of the Sundanese. In general, the elderly are not seriously preparing for the younger generation as the next leaders in a well-planned system. This kind of wisdom is a requirement of regeneration currently.

In the news, the rare emergence of Sundanese figures that are qualified to the national leadership is recognized by the local Sundanese elites. These acknowledgments lead to the activities of the organization *Pasundan Paguyuban*. The organization often holds some discussions about the leadership of Sundanese. Some of the figures who observe the current condition of the Sundanese people mention that the problem of Sundanese people and culture is from internal. The Sundanese people should prepare themselves to be better and to build their internal readiness before demanding and competing on the national stage. The potential of a large population of Sundanese people should be in harmony with the quality of the elites who represent them. This change is important to do with the revitalizing and contextualizing the life of philosophy of Sundanese people who are more in tune with the national and international conditions. Similarly, the systematic engineering is required through the

various structural and cultural approaches involving local government to produce qualified Sundanese leaders to be the power of the Sundanese people in West Java.

Similarly, the Sundanese culture is now widely known by the international community, such as the birth instrument of Sundanese figures that are well known in the nationally and internationally. In the other culture, there are not only human beings as cultural engineers, but there are also thinkers and planners of civilization. These figures and the thinkers should be encouraged and brought up by all the components from the Sundanese people. Unfortunately, in the West Java, the introduction of its culture by their people has not automatically given birth by the agents of change among them.

In terms of environment, this study finds the word *ketidakberdayaan* (helplessness) in the case of Mount Tangkuban Perahu tour manager. The voice of Sundanese figures, including the local government of West Java, who do not recommend, and even prohibit, the parties outside the Sundanese communities to manage the tourist area is not able to hinder the wishes from the central government and entrepreneurs who manage the tourist area. This also becomes an additional fact that not only in political affairs and leadership but also as the legitimate owners, the Sundanese people are powerless to defend their land and environment from the economic interests of the external parties. Apparently, this does not only happen in the case of tourist areas. Today, the Bandung city is crowded with the economic interests of the Jakarta's. Bandung now is like to be inhabited for the benefit of the external parties. In the name of tourism and regional income, Bandung is beginning to feel the bad effects of the elite's ambition that considers the economic progress as a development solution.

There are three constructions of local media in depicting Sundanese culture. The first one is National Leadership. The national leadership is understood by the local Sundanese elites as an accumulation of the existence of various ethnics in Indonesia. Since the Old Order era, there has always been consideration of the origins or the home town of a national leader. Automatically, the local people make the figure as their pride. In a multiethnic nation, such thing is a necessity, and it must be considered by those whoever leads the country. The Sundanese culture is depicted in various forms by *Pikiran Rakyat* and other local media. In the context of national politics, especially in relation to the representation of Sundanese people that are participating in the development of national politics, there is a disappointment through the affirmation of the nature of the nation and the state. *Pikiran Rakyat* writes as;

> *Perombakan (reshuffle) kabinet termutakhir yang dilakukan Presiden Joko Widodo dinilai sebagai bagian dari upaya menjaga keseimbangan politik partai dan persepsi internasional. Namun, dari persepsi kelompok Sunda, prosesnya dianggap melupakan satu aspek penting, yakni kohesivitas kultural. Padahal NKRI dibangun dalam landasan integrasi budaya, bukan kohesivitas partai politik (Pikiran Rakyat, 2016).*

The reshuffle of the latest cabinet by President Joko Widodo is considered as a part of efforts to maintain the party's political balance and international perception. However, from the perception of the Sundanese groups, this process is considered to have overlooked one important aspect, namely cultural cohesiveness. In fact, The Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia is built on the foundation of cultural integration, not political party cohesiveness (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 2016).

Pikiran Rakyat describes the fragmentation of the Sundanese people in terms of national leadership, specifically the groups that are disappointed or dissatisfied with the cabinet formation, the groups that see conditions inward, and groups that see the natural (ordinary) problem as a political event. The disappointment towards the absence of the Sundanese representation is reflected by some of the figures such as Didi Turmudi (Chairman of *Paguyuban Pasundan* –Sundanese Circle of Friends) and an academician, Asep Warlan Yusuf. *Pikiran Rakyat* quotes the statements of the two figures in this manner.

> *Asep Warlan bahkan menilai representasi Jawa orang Sunda hilang sudah. Semula ia mengira, Jokowi akan merekrut TB Hasanuddin yang dianggap dekat dengan kekuasaan di pusat sebagai salah satu menteri sekaligus tetap merepresentasikan warga Jawa Barat. Namun rupanya sosok TB Hasanuddin tidak termasuk dalam konstelasi politik nasional (Pikiran Rakyat, 2016).*

Asep Warlan even assesses the Sundanese representation are lost already. Originally, he thought, Jokowi would recruit TB Hasanuddin, who is considered close to the central power as one of the ministers, at the same time he represents the citizens of West Java (the Sundanese people). Apparently, the figure of TB Hasanuddin is not included in the national political constellation (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 2016).

On the other hand, it implies a fact as a part of the introspection of the Sundanese people in the national political struggle; the Sundanese elites do not have a pattern in fighting for the Sundanese people in the context of national politics. Next, in the national context, there is no lobbyist, who becomes the bridge for the entry of Sundanese figures in the national leadership. This condition should be a reflection of the Sundanese people, especially the Sundanese elites. *Pikiran Rakyat* (2016) mentions that at least there are three reasons why the Sundanese people are not counted in the national political stage as mentioned.

> *Ada tiga hal yang tidak dimiliki oleh orang Sunda sehingga posisi tawar di kancah politik nasional lemah. Pertama, sebagai suatu komunitas, suku Sunda tak memiliki status grup yang istimewa, baik secara budaya maupun lainnya. Kedua, tidak punya sumber daya politik yang memadai karena tidak ada tokoh politik dominan. Terakhir, tidak ada orang Sunda yang memiliki kekuatan modal capital cukup memadai. Kekuatan ini tak dimiliki sehingga orang Sunda lemah dalam posisi tawar perpolitikan nasional (Pikiran Rakyat, 2016).*

There are three things, which are not owned by the Sundanese because of that their bargaining position in the national political arena is weak. Firstly, as a community, the Sundanese do not have a special group status, either culturally or otherwise. Secondly, it lacks adequate political resources because there is no dominant political figure. Finally, the Sundanese people do not have enough capital.

These powers are not owned so that the Sundanese are weak in the bargaining position of national politics (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 2016).

The same thing in relation to the national leadership is expressed in *Mangle* magazine (2016).

> *Itung-itungan posisi tawar urang Sunda enggoning nyangking posisi politik di tingkat puseur (nasional) acan bisa cumpon, alatan aya sababaraha hal nu jadi marga lantaran, di antarana, minangka hiji komunitas, etnik Sunda anu teu mibanda status grup istimewa, boh ajen budaya boh ajen-ajen sejena. Oge teu mibanda sumber daya pulitik anu kuat, lantaran teu boga tokoh pulitik anu dominan (ketua partey). Lian ti eta, minim urang Sunda anu boga kakuatan modal kapital (Mangle, 2016).*

The calculation of the bargaining position of the Sundanese people to obtain a national political position cannot be fulfilled because there are several reasons. One of them, as an ethnic group, the Sundanese people do not have special status, either in culture or other terms. The Sundanese also do not have strong political resources, since it has no dominant political figure (party leader). In addition, only few Sundanese have the capital power (Mangle, 2016). Similarly, based on the sanctioning of historic buildings in West Java, it can be argued that the Sundanese people are a democratic group and full of tolerance. This is described in *Mangle*, November 10-15, 2016 edition.

> *Ti dinya ge katangen, yen urang Sunda baheula teh geus biasa sabilulungan gotong royong. Daek lila ngalaksanakeun pagawean kalayan babarengan, butuh pasipatan masarakat nu silih ajenan, toleransi, jeung demokratis (Mangle, 2016).*

From those buildings, the ancient Sundanese people are used to cooperate and work together. They want to cooperate in carrying out a work that requires the participation of the community, mutual respect, tolerance, and democratic (*Mangle,* 2016).

The second constructions of local media in depicting Sundanese culture is the relations between Sunda and Islam. The problem of Sunda and Islam relations is presented because there is a stigma among the Sundanese people that Sunda is Islam and Islam is Sunda. This stigma is believed to be the power of the Sundanese people even though, in the context of history, most of the people of Indonesia archipelago have animists and dynamism ancestors. Nowadays, Sundanese people are predominantly Muslim who have embedded themselves in Islamic beliefs as their religious identity. Therefore, it can be said it is strange if there are Sundanese individuals who embrace other religion. The proximity of Islam and Sundanese can be analogous to the sugar and sweet taste (*gula jeung peueutna*), sugar cannot be separated with sweet. The sugar will lose its identity when its sweetness disappears. Sunda and Islam relations are described in *Pikiran Rakyat*.

> *Adagium Islam dan Sunda ibarat gula dan manisnya (gula jeung peueutna) harus kembali diaktualisasikan dalam kondisi umat dan kebangsaan hari ini. Kemiskinan dan kebodohan yang harus masih menjadi masalah keumatan dan kebangsaan saat ini menanti respons dari sinergi umat Islam yang juga warga Sunda di Jawa Barat (Pikiran Rakyat, 2016).*

The Adagium of Islam and Sunda is like sugar and sweetness (*gula jeung peueutna*). It should be re-actualized in the condition of the people and the nation today. The poverty and ignorance that is still the problems of the current statehood and nationality await responses from the synergy of Muslims who are also Sundanese in West Java (*Pikiran Rakyat*, 2016).

The issues that Islam and Sunda have today are increasingly contextual and important. The issues of violence in the name of religion, intolerance, and terrorism have placed West Java as the province with the highest level of intolerance. The Sundanese people have a philosophy of teaching *someah hade ka semah*, as a social form in a cross-ethnic, even national, life. Similarly, the principles of *akur jeung dulur, ngajaga lembur, panceg dina galur* are the principle in carrying the role as a social creature in relation with another fellow human being, the environment, and in keeping the principles of life.

The third constructions of local media in depicting Sundanese culture is the culture and other aspects. Another aspect that illustrated in relation to Sundanese culture is the internal condition of the culture, and the response of the Sundanese people to various problems occur the West Java province. This case can be seen from how the Sundanese people address the increasingly critical environment and how the Sundanese people respond to the desire of some Sundanese sub-cultures to separate themselves from the government of West Java and to form the province of Cirebon. In the case of the national network, *Mangle* magazine, October 6-12, 2016 edition states:

> *Urang Sunda ge jarambah. Loba nu lunta ka jauhna, nyungsi hirup jeung huripna. Tapi, najan anggang ti lembur sorangan, ka sarakan mah teh weleh tibelat. Apan tetap nu maratuh di lembur batur teh ngantengkeun tatali asih ka balik geusan ngajadi (Mangle, 2016).*

The Sundanese people are also wandering araound, going so far, searching for life and live, but even they are far away from home, they always remember their birthplace. In their current place, they still bind the love for their origins (*Mangle*, 2016).

The ideology that established by local media in depicting Sundanese culture can be seen from the tendency of the news interest to defend the Sundanese culture in the national arena. Based on the various observed news, it can be seen there are three ideological trends that developed by local media; idealism, nationalist-primordialist, and pragmatic-realistic. Each of these ideologies can be sharpened in the following description.

The ideology of idealism appears in the news mainly relates to how ideally the social order, politics, and leadership take place in the homeland. Criticism of many local Sundanese elites is based on themselves and the idea of how is the ideal life of a country. The presence of local elites and local cultures is essentially important parts of the development of national culture. The ideals of building a country based on the local culture are the noble ideals of

the founders of the nation, considering all parts of Indonesia cannot be separated from each other. The local wealth is the wealth of this nation, so it should not be ignored by whomever that leads this nation. The ideology of idealism has developed in the local media that appears in many debates on the idea of how the relationship between the local culture and national culture.

The ideology of nationalism-primordial formed in the news defends for the local interests but has national significance. The Sundanese elites' struggle on Sundanese politics and leadership is not only interpreted locally as a one-sided interest but precisely in the context of building to become more harmonious in Indonesia. As understood in the context of diversity, the presence of ethnics, and tribes in Indonesia, it is crucial in organizing the national unity. The local ethnicity and tribal dynamics often become serious issues for the benefit of the nation and state. Therefore, this ideology, although it is primordially charged, it is done for the national interest. In other words, the ideology is developed by the local mass media is nationalism based on the locality.

Meanwhile, the pragmatism-realistic ideology can be seen from the existence of temporary political interests in every political struggle by any groups. Pragmatism in the news is formed because the struggle to put the Sundanese in the national arena that should be done concretely for the benefit of the Sundanese people. Realistic means that the struggle of interest must be based on the real facts in the field that are encountered today. In this case, it is important for the Sundanese people to see the dynamic and meaningful political realities for the strategy of Sundanese political struggle. Politics and leadership are not always idealistic, but also must be accompanied by interests.

Based on the three classifications, it can be seen that in every news the culture and ideology accompanies the news. The ideology is not necessarily negative, especially in the case of a particular group or community struggle. In the practice of the news, the ideology can be read explicitly through the use of language by the media, either by referring to the language and the conclusions of the news makers.

CONCLUSIONS

Based on the previous description, this research can be summarized in the following points of the statement. First is the language that used by local media to describe the construction of Sundanese culture refers to the developed topics. Regarding national leadership, the language used indicates as a negative sense towards the political position of the Sundanese people. Words and phrase *tidak memiliki daya tawar* (no bargaining power) is the key to the political condition of current Sundanese people in the national politics. Many local Sundanese elites feel pity considering the West Java province is a granary of votes in the legislative and presidential elections.

The second is the construction of local media in depicting the Sundanese culture is classified into three themes; national leadership, culture and Islam relations, and culture and other aspects. In the context of national leadership, the constructions built in the news reinforce and strengthen the conditions and reality. The local media fully becomes the channel of negative voices about the national leadership in the context of the unaccounted local potential of Sundanese people in national leadership. In terms of relations of culture and Islam, local media shows the positive

aspects of the condition and history of Sundanese people that are known as a religious ethnic group. This condition is illustrated by various analogies and parables about the relationship between Islam and Sundanese culture, which has been long-standing.

The third is the ideology that established by local media in depicting and forming opinions about the Sundanese culture is nationalism-primordial. It is about the local culture is a primordial embodiment but, considering its importance to maintain the national unity, it can be said that the ideology is nationalism-primordial. It seems that the term opposite each other, but the current social fact shows the emergence of awareness of local culture to build the national unity.

REFERENCES

Anshori, D. S. (2014). Wacana keagamaan Syiah-Sunni dalam Majalah Tempo dan Suara Hidayatullah. *Jurnal Litera, 13*(1), 14-28.

Anshori, D. S. (2017). *Etnografi komunikasi, perspektif bahasa.* Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada.

Bonvillain, N. (2003). *Language, culture, and communication.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Eriyanto. (2002). *Analisis Framing, Konstruksi, Ideologi, dan Politik Media.* Yogyakarta: LKiS.

Georgakapoulou, A. (2006). Small and large identities in narative (Inter)action. In De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., and Bamberg, M., (eds.), *Discourse and Identity* (pp 83-102). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hamad, I. (2004). Konstruksi realitas politik dalam media massa. *Jurnal Makara: Sosial Humaniora, 8*(1), 21-32.

Heracleous, L. (2006). *Discourse, Interpretation, Organization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hodge, R., & Kress, G. (1993). *Language as Ideology* (2nd Ed). London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Ibrahim, R. (2008). Pendidikan Multikultural: upaya meminimalisir konflik dalam era pluaralisme agama. *El-Tarbawi, Jurnal Pendidikan Islam, 1*(1), 115-127.

Indrawardana, I. (2013). Kearifan lokal adat masyarakat Sunda dalam hubungan dengan lingkungan alam. *Jurnal Komunitas, 4*(1), 1-8.

Mangle. 18-24 August, (2016). *Tokoh politik Sunda Tacan Aya nu Dominan*, pp. 10-11.

Mangle. 6-12 October, (2016). *Sunda jarambah ulah poho ka Sarakan*.

Mangle. 10-16 November, (2016). *Maca situs karuhun Sunda ngungkan demokrasi jeung toleransi.*

Moleong, L. J. (2000). *Metodologi penelitian kualitatif.* Bandung: Remadja Rosdakarya.

Oliver, P. E., & Myers, D. J. (1999). How events enter the public sphere: Conflict, Location, and Sponsorship in local newspaper coverage of public events. *American Journal of Sosiology, 105*(1), 38-87.

Pikiran Rakyat. 28 July, (2016). *Pupusnya representasi Jawa Barat*, p. 1.

Pikiran Rakyat. 4 August, (2016). *Kohesivitas kultural terabaikan*, p. 9.

Pikiran Rakyat. 6 August, (2016). *Belum ada tokoh politik*

Sunda yang dominan, p. 3.

Pikiran Rakyat. 31 August, (2016). *Perkuat sinergi Islam & Sunda*, p. 9.

Rozi, S. (2009). Nasionalisme, Demokrasi, dan Sentimen Primordialisme di Indonesia: problematika identitas keetnisan versus keindonesiaan pada studi kasus Aceh, Papua, dan Riau. *Jurnal Ilmu Politik, 6*(1), 75-84.

Saefullah, U. (2013). Dialektika komunikasi, Islam, dan budaya Sunda. *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi, 16*(1), 71-80.

Safei, A. A. (2010). Kearifan Sunda, kearifan semesta: Menelusuri jejak Islam dalam khazanah budaya Sunda. *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah, 5*(16), 35-52.

Saidi, A. (2009). Relasi Pancasila, Agama, dan Kebudayaan: Sebuah refleksi. *Jurnal Masyarakat & Budaya, 11*(1), 25-49.

Schiffrin, D. (2006). From linguistic reference to social reality, In Discourse and Identity. In De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D., and Bamberg, M., (eds.). *Discourse and Identity* (pp 113-131). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Sitompul, P., & Dirgahayu, D. (2014). Kepuasan masyarakat terhadap pers berbahasa Sunda. *Jurnal Penelitian Komunikasi, 17*(1), 69-76.

Smith, A. D. (1986). *The ethnic origins of nations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Sumpena, D. (2014). Islam dan budaya lokal: Kajian terhadap Interelasi Islam dan budaya Sunda. *Jurnal Ilmu Dakwah, 6*(19), 101-120.

Syamsudin A. R. (2011). *Studi Wacana, Teori-Analisis-Pengajaran*. Bandung: Geger Sunten.

Syukur, A. (2011). Islam, Etnisitas, dan Politik Identitas: Kasus Sunda. *Miqot, Jurnal Ilmu-Ilmu Keislaman, 35*(2), 407-426.